

ART. XX.—*Castlesteads*. By R. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A.,  
F.S.A.

*Read at the site, September 13th, 1921.*

# I. THE FORT.

THE Roman station generally known as Castlesteads\* is the thirteenth, counting from east to west, on the line of Hadrian's Wall. In the list of Wall stations given in the *Notitia Dignitatum* the thirteenth is Petrianae, garrisoned by the Ala Petriana. Now the first twelve stations in this list, from Segedunum to Amboglanna, are identified with the first twelve mural forts known to us, from Wallsend to Birdoswald. As to these identifications there can be no doubt: the coincidence of the names of regiments in garrison given by the *Notitia* with the names of regiments dedicating inscriptions found in the forts is, taken as a whole, absolutely conclusive proof. Where twelve identifications are certain it may seem legitimate to jump to the thirteenth and ascribe to Castlesteads the name Petrianae. But though so great a man as Horsley took this step it is certainly wrong. The next names after Petrianae in the *Notitia* are Aballaba and Axelodunum. These are identified with Papcastle and Maryport, and there is no reasonable doubt that the identification is correct: and this proves that by the time the list reaches Aballaba it has left the wall and reappeared in West Cumberland. Does this breach of continuity occur before or after the name Petrianae?

It is almost certain that it occurs before: since the

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\* Horsley calls it Cambeckfort; but the name Castlesteads, though only a generic name for a ruined fortification and occurring elsewhere, is now too well established to cause confusion.

Ala Petriana appears to be identical with the Ala Augusta *milliaria torquata civium Romanorum ob virtutem appellata* which lay in garrison at Old Carlisle. In that case, Old Carlisle is Petrianae, and after breaking off at Birdoswald the *Notitia* list begins again in west Cumberland at Old Carlisle and works down the coast. All the western Wall stations beginning at Castlesteads are omitted from it. Why this is so we cannot yet say with certainty. There are several views as to the date of this section of the *Notitia*: German scholars regard it as describing the state of things in existence about 300, but—since the *Notitia* was only compiled about 425, after the final breach between Britain and the Empire—it may be later. It may, for instance, describe the system established by Theodosius about 368, after the disaster of 367, which lasted till Maximus withdrew the troops in 383: or thirdly, it may even describe the Wall as re-garrisoned by Stilicho in 395, if (which is far from certain) Stilicho re-garrisoned the Wall forts at all.

Now, if the *Notitia* describes the state of the frontier before 383, the omission of the western end of the Wall can only be explained by mutilation of the original document, for Castlesteads, as its coins prove, was occupied till that date. It is still possible that the *Notitia* list is not fragmentary and dates from some period after 383 when the Wall was only held from Wallsend to Birdoswald, the western end being given up on account of the ease with which it could be outflanked by Scottish sea-raiders, and the Roman forces in this region concentrated on the Cumberland coast. It is in favour of this possibility that Castlesteads cannot as yet be proved to have been occupied after 383: but it is not certain that any Wall fort was occupied after that.

We have no information whatever concerning the Romano-British name of Castlesteads: we can only say that it does not appear in our ancient authorities.

Castlesteads shares with Carvoran and Chesterholm the peculiarity of being a Wall fort not touching the Wall. But on further examination its position is unique. Carvoran and Chesterholm are properly not Wall forts but Stanegate forts: they lie not on the line of the Wall, but on the line of Agricola's road from Carlisle to Corbridge, which we call the Stanegate: and this fact is emphasized by the way in which the Vallum passes to the north of them, whereas it skirts every other fort on the south. Till 1901, it was thought that Castlesteads too lay to the south of the Vallum, but in that and the following year

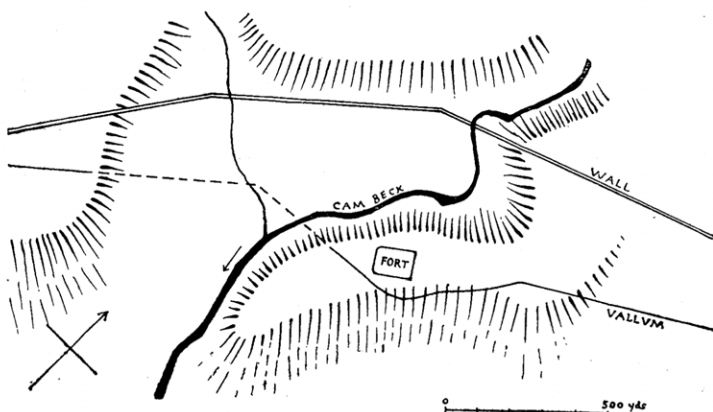


FIG. 1.—PLAN OF CASTLESTEADS.

Haverfield proved that the Vallum made a wide southward bend from its straight course so as to pass the fort on the south. Moreover, Castlesteads does not, as do Carvoran and Chesterholm, lie on the Stanegate, and therefore cannot like them be explained as a Stanegate fort dating from the period 79—120 and later reconstructed so as to form an element in the Hadrianic scheme of defence. The isolation of Castlesteads from the Wall, which passes 400 yards north of it, is therefore unique. It is, however, capable of explanation on the new theory

of the Wall which Mr. F. G. Simpson sets forth in this volume. If all the forts were first built as isolated works, connected only by the Vallum or legal frontier which, running close behind them, marked the division between *domi* and *militiae*, and if these isolated works were later connected by the Wall, it is evident that some forts might not be so accessible to a line of wall as others, and, in particular, that the Cambeck valley is easier for such a line to cross a quarter of a mile higher up than at Castlesteads itself, which stands on a tongue of land falling very steeply north-westwards to the beck.

There are no visible remains of the fort, everything having been destroyed in 1791 when the present grounds were laid out. At the same time half a mile of Hadrian's Wall adjacent to the fort was also destroyed. Of the structures then demolished only the barest fragments of information remain. Antiquaries of the time took pains to put on record a full account of the inscriptions brought to light, which were preserved, and none to describe the buildings which were destroyed.

In 1740, a hypocaust had been discovered, 15 by 27 ft., the floor of which was supported by stone pillars about 2ft. high, fixed in a bed of clay; shorter funnels of burnt clay were placed in quincunx form between every other row of the pedestals; there were over 100 of the stone pedestals, on which were laid stones an inch thick. Two rooms paved with *opus signinum* were found adjoining this hypocaust, whose furnace was identified; and a cold bath, with a sort of cistern 15 feet by 4 feet 6 ins., composed of large thick slates set edgeways and cemented together. This was obviously the bath of the fort, and is described in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1742, p. 76. But of the demolition in 1791 only two facts remain: that the dimensions of the fort were 130 yards by 100, and that a broad pavement of stones was found "a little out of the gate" (Lysons, *Magna Brit.*, vol. iv, *Cumber-*



land: pages c, cxlviii note. The article by Professor Carlisle in *Archaeologia* xi describes the finds—mostly inscriptions—and the construction of Hadrian's Wall as observed during the demolition of it: about the fort it says nothing).

The size, 130 by 100 yards or 2.7 acres (nearly) has always been accepted as correct, though we shall see that it raises a difficulty. The pavement outside the gate is probably a commoner feature than the silence of excavators would suggest: the present writer has found such external pavements at Ambleside and Papcastle, and is not aware that they have been looked for elsewhere. Further, the eccentric position of the fort with regard to the southward bend in the Vallum is a fact requiring explanation, and probably the fort was furnished with an annexe projecting eastwards, which being less strongly entrenched than the fort itself disappeared first. This explanation was suggested to the writer by Mr. F. G. Simpson.

The evidence of the remains then suggests a fort of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres with an annexe adjoining it on the east: this annexe being partly at least paved and containing, among other buildings, a bath-house of the usual type. In size the fort resembles a considerable group of structures designed to accommodate cohorts 500 strong. Of the inscriptions belonging to the fort two name the Fourth Cohort of Gauls, and four the Second Cohort of Tungrians,\* in each case as if the regiment were the garrison of the fort. A change of garrison is not usual in such forts; but there are analogies for it, notably at Maryport and at forts along the Antonine Wall in Scotland. Here it seems evident that the Gaulish cohort preceded the Tungrian. The surviving inscription of the former is in style reminiscent of the second century:

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\* In the accompanying catalogue nos. 2, 30 are dedicated by the Fourth Gauls; nos. 1, 26, 29, 43 by the Second Tungrians. No. 26 is dated A.D. 241.

those of the latter, of the third, and their century is fixed also by the facts that one is dated to the year 241, and that in another the name Severus occurs twice, a name which became fashionable after the beginning of that century.

The Fourth Cohort of Gauls was 500 strong and furnished with a cavalry contingent (*equitata*). It was probably sent to Britain by Hadrian: and after being quartered at Castlesteads was employed in the Caledonian campaigns of Lollius Urbicus after 140, and may have been in garrison at Castlehill, close to the western end of the Antonine Wall. After this we trace it at Risingham in Northumberland, where it seems to have done building-work in the early third century, and lastly (for I omit tiles from Templeborough, which probably date from the very beginning of its British residence) it settled down at Chesterholm, where it has left three inscriptions, all apparently of the third century, and is located by the *Notitia Dignitatum*.

The Second Cohort of Tungrians was also *equitate* but was 1,000 strong. It was early in Britain—it fought under Agricola—and in the second century we find it at Birrens in Dumfriesshire, which fort it seems to have rebuilt in 158 and thereafter occupied till the disaster of 180.

Putting together the inscriptions and the coin-series we reconstruct the following history. Castlesteads was built in 121-2 as one of the chain of forts which, about 124, were linked up by the Wall. It was, perhaps, built by the Sixth Legion, and was garrisoned by the Fourth Gauls. That regiment may, twenty years later, have been moved to the Clyde, but if Castlesteads was abandoned it was soon reoccupied, either by the Gauls or by some other corps. After the great disaster of 181, it lay empty, like other forts: but when Severus reorganised the frontier about 210, he rebuilt it (perhaps by a vexilla-

tion of the Second Legion) and placed here the Second Tungrians, which knew the country because some time earlier they had been quartered at the now abandoned fort of Birrens. We know that about 270 the Wall was overtaken, after a period of peace, by a disaster : and the coin-series suggests that at Castlesteads this disaster was for some twenty years not made good. Carausius, who undertook a Caledonian war about 290, rebuilt the Wall forts and seems to have replaced a garrison at Castlesteads, possibly its old garrison, but on that subject we have no evidence, for no document later than the middle of the third century names the Second Tungrians. In any case, Castlesteads was now held continuously for 70 or 80 years, and was not, like the milecastles, evacuated when, about 330, the growing claims of the Saxon shore attracted troops away from the Wall. But in 367 came the great Pictish war, and Castlesteads, like the other forts, doubtless fell : but was rebuilt by Theodosius in 368, and abandoned, perhaps finally, by Maximus in 383.

In this history some points are rather probable than proved, and there is one grave difficulty. The Second Tungrians, which at Birrens required a fort four acres in extent (a usual size for a milliary cohort) cannot have been crowded into one of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres at Castlesteads. The traditional limits of the Castlesteads fort would suit the Gaulish cohort, but are impossible for the Tungrian. On the other hand the evidence for a Tungrian garrison—four inscriptions—is too good to be set aside with the hypothesis that the Tungrians merely visited Castlesteads to do rebuilding. This did sometimes happen : but it is difficult to think it can have happened here. If it did, we do not know who garrisoned Castlesteads in the third and fourth centuries : but we do know the date of its rebuilding, namely A.D. 241, which is at least twenty years later than analogy would lead us to expect. If, on the other hand, the Tungrians were in garrison at

Castlesteads (and, considering that the adjacent forts, Stanwix and Birdoswald, are sixteen miles apart, a military cohort seems urgently necessary) we must believe either that the traditional measurements of the fort are in error, or else that the fort visible before 1791 was not the Tungrians' fort of the period between Severus and Carausius but something else, perhaps a reduced fort occupied by an unknown cohort 500 strong in the late third and fourth centuries. Was the pavement seen outside the gate in 1791 an internal floor in a larger fort?

Alterations in the size of Wall forts are no novelty, but where we know them they took place very soon after the original building. If Castlesteads was first built small by Hadrian, then doubled in size by Severus and finally reduced to its original extent by Carausius, its history is indeed unique. But the problem is one which cannot be solved except by digging. A very short exploration would not only verify the plan of the fort but discover that of its annexes, if it ever had any, and of any alterations of size which it may have undergone. If it was never altered in size, the inference will be that the Tungrians were there not as garrison but, in spite of the number of the inscriptions, merely as builders. Even then we shall not be free of problems: for if we have four inscriptions of the Second Tungrians dating from a short visit to Castlesteads, why have we none at their permanent quarters, wherever these may have been?

## II. THE INSCRIBED STONES.

Of the forty-seven stones here collected, four do not belong to the site but are included for convenience because they are in the Castlesteads collection. This leaves the rather large number of forty-three stones belonging to the fort or its immediate surroundings. The size of the collection is chiefly due to the digging-up of the fort in 1791, when many inscribed and sculptured stones were found and preserved. I have grouped the entries under four heads: (A) Stones from Castlesteads

now preserved there ; (B) Stones from other sites in the Castlesteads collection ; (C) Stones from Castlesteads preserved elsewhere ; (D) Stones from Castlesteads now lost. The first two groups may thus serve as a catalogue of the Castlesteads collection, except for the uninscribed sculptures, with which I have not dealt. All the readings in these two groups are the result of my own examination of the stones in 1921, when I made full-sized drawings of all the inscriptions.

A. STONES FROM CASTLESTEADS PRESERVED ON THE SPOT.

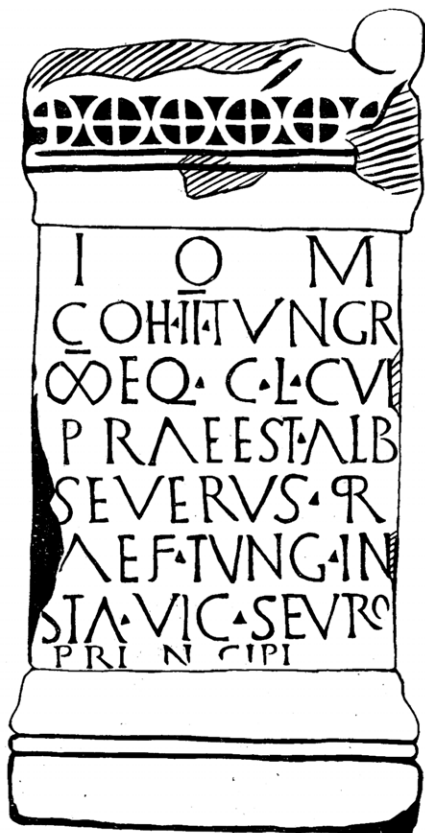


FIG. 2.—ALTAR FROM CASTLESTEADS (no. 1). Scale  $\frac{1}{12}$ .

1. Altar, 4ft. 2 ins.  $\times$  2 ft. 1 in. found in 1818.

I O M | COH.II.TVNGR | ∞ EQ.C.L.CVI | PRAEEST.  
 ALB | SEVERVS.PR | AEF.TVNG.IN | STA.VIC.SEVERO |  
 PRINCIPI (Dedicated) to Jupiter best and greatest (by) the  
 Second Cohort of Tungrians, 1,000 strong, furnished with a  
 cavalry contingent and holding the Latin citizenship, under the  
 command of Alb(ius) Severus, Prefect of Tungrians; (executed)  
 under the eye of Vic(cius) Severus, Senior Decurion.'

C.I.L. vii, 879; L.S. 424 (Fig.2).

In l. 7 the name was intended to be SEVERO, the ER tied  
 back to back; but only the top horizontal of the E has been cut:  
 the rest, inadvertently omitted, was no doubt painted on the  
 stone. The history of the cohort is discussed above.

2. Altar, 2 ft. × 1 ft. 3 ins., well made and having a graceful  
 egg-and-dart pattern above the panel. Found in the bed of the  
 stream at Beck, half mile west of the fort, on the line of the Wall.



I O M | COH.III.GAL |  
 LORVM.[...] | CVI.PR[A  
 EEST] | CAESOI[...] | [P]  
 R[A]EF[...] | [V S L M]  
 'To Jupiter best and greatest,  
 (dedicated by) the Fourth  
 Cohort of Gauls, under the  
 command of Caesonius...  
 prefect.'

C.I.L. vii, 878; L.S. 427  
 (Fig. 3).

The inscription is exceed-  
 ingly worn, and the lower  
 right hand portion wholly il-  
 legible. Bruce thought he  
 could detect the name Claud-  
 ius Modestus in ll. 4, 5: but  
 this seems unwarranted. At  
 the end of l. 3 I seemed to  
 see .CL. '*civium Latinorum*,  
 but other descriptions of the  
 cohort do not claim for it the  
 status of Latin citizenship.

FIG. 3.—ALTAR FROM CASTLESTEADS  
 (no. 2). Scale  $\frac{1}{8}$ .

The first 2½ lines alone are  
 perfectly plain. The history of the cohort has been discussed  
 above, p. 203.

3. Upper part (11 ins. × 8 ins.) of a small altar originally 18 or 20 ins. high; found 1791.

IOVI.OM | VO[TV]M 'A vow to Jupiter best and greatest.'  
C.I.L. vii, 883; L.S. 429.

The top only of the M is left, but the reading is quite certain though some more may have been lost

4. Altar, 2 ft. 8 ins. × 1 ft. 5 ins.; reticulated pattern above inscription.



FIG. 4.—ALTAR FROM CASTLESTEADS  
(no. 4). Scale  $\frac{1}{8}$ .

RVS which Bruce thought it might be. For the accidental omission of an E in Severus, cf. no. 1.

I.O.M.ET G | LO  
CI.G.VE | RECVNDV  
| S VERVS V[S]L  
[M] 'To Jupiter best  
and greatest and the  
Genius of the place,  
Gaius Verecundus Verus  
pays a vow.'

C.I.L. vii, 881; L.S.  
428; *Eph. Epigr.* ix, p.  
604 (Fig. 4).

Hübner (who, as usual for this part of the country, depends wholly on Bruce's correspondence for the reading) fails to make anything of l. 3, which is extremely worn and hardly legible at all. Haverfield read it RECVNDIV. I am unable to see the I; after long examination I can only read the name as I have given it. There may, however, be an S at the end of l. 3, in which case the name is G.VE | RECVNDVS | S(E)VE-

For the accidental omission of an E in Severus, cf. no. 1.

5. Altar, 1 ft. 7 ins. × 7 ins., originally 1 ft. 7 ins. × about 11 ins., the left side cut off.

[DE]O MARTI | [S?] ET NG AVG | [...]PACO | [NI]VS  
SATV | [RNI]NVS | [V S] ET POSVIT. 'To the (holy) god  
Mars and to the deity of the Emperor Paco(ni)us Satu(rni)nus  
paid a vow and set up (this altar).'

C.I.L. vii, 885; L.S. 431.

*Eph. Epig.* ix, p. 604, where Haverfield reads the last line  
[PRAEF] EQ POSVIT '...prefect of cavalry set up (this altar).'

The reading is not very clear; Bruce's draughtsman read EO;  
to me it appears to be ET. In line 2 the carver meant to put  
NVM AVG, but after cutting N he mistook what he had just done  
for AV in ligature and added a G; then seeing his mistake tried  
to correct it and has left the passage in a muddle.

6. Upper part (4 ins. × 4 ins.) of a miniature altar, ornamented  
with circles and drilled holes.

DEO | [N]EP | [TVNO] 'To the god Neptune'...

C.I.L. vii, 893; L.S. 439.

Bruce and Hübner omit the E in l. 2, of which, however, the  
top stroke is plain and its meaning unmistakable.



FIG. 5.—ALTAR FROM CASTLE-  
STEADS (no. 7). Scale  $\frac{1}{8}$ .

7. Altar, 2 ft. 3 ins. × 1 ft.  
1 in.

.N.AVG. | DIIO VANA |  
VNTI AVREL | ARMIGER |  
DEC.PRINC ' (Dedicated) to  
the deity of the Emperor (and)  
to the god Vanauns (by) Aurelius  
Armiger, senior decurion.'

C.I.L. vii, 888; L.S. 438 (Fig.  
5).

The II in l. 2 is a common  
way of writing E. Vanauns is  
evidently a Celtic god, but does  
not seem to appear elsewhere.  
The Decurions commanded sub-  
divisions of a century.

Above the inscription is an  
arcade consisting of two semi-  
circular arches and one pointed  
arch. The presence, on a Roman  
monument, of a pointed arch as  
a decorative feature is apparently  
unique and certainly puzzling in  
the extreme: the explanation  
probably is that what looks like  
a Gothic arch is really an ill-  
drawn gable, a motive which would not be unnatural.



8. Miniature altar, 10½ ins. × 4½ ins.

DEO | BELAT | VCAG | ROAR | MINERV[AE] 'To the god Belatucager an altar; to Minerva.'

C.I.L. vii, 873; L.S. 435.

The well-known god Belatucader is evidently intended; the supplementary dedication to Minerva looks like an afterthought. Native Celtic goddesses like Sul at Bath and Coventina at Carrawburgh were identified with Minerva.

9. Very rude altar, 16 ins. × 7 ins., with remains of zigzag ornament at top.

DEO 'To the god...' There has never been any further inscription. A more explicit dedication may have been painted on the stone, or the altar may have been part of a merchant's stock-in-trade, to be inscribed at a customer's orders.

Unpublished.

10. Altar, 3 ft. 2 ins. × 1 ft. 10 ins.



DISCIPV | [L]INAE | [A]  
VGGG | VSTI 'To the Discipline of the Emperor(s).'

C.I.L. vii, 896; L.S. 445; Lysons, *Cumberland*, p. 154; *Eph. Epigr.* ix, p. 605 (Fig. 6).

Bishop Bennet of Cloyne (quoted by Lysons) observed that the altar had originally read DISCIPVLINAE AVGGG, and that the second and third G had been erased and the whole made to read DISCIPVLINAE AVGVSTI. The erased G's are well shown in Bruce's woodcut, though in his text he ignores this reading. The altar was originally dedicated during the years 209–211, when Severus, Caracalla and Geta were joint Augusti. After Severus died in 211 and Geta was murdered in 212, his brother and murderer had

FIG. 6.—ALTAR FROM CASTLESTEADS (no. 10). Scale 1½.

the inscription altered so as to mention himself only. The name of Geta was systematically erased from all inscriptions; cf. C.I.L. vii, 482, in the crypt at Hexham.

11. Sepulchral slab, 2 ft. 6 ins. × 1 ft. 11 ins., flanked and surmounted by heavy screw-cut mouldings interrupted by panels bearing saltire crosses; in centre an ansate tablet 1 ft. 3 ins. × 9 ins., with bearded portrait head below.

D.M. | GEMELLI.C.A. | FL.HILARIO. J.H.F.C.

'In memory of Gemellus, custodian of the Arms: set up by his heir, Flavius Hilario, centurion.'

C.I.L. vii, 906; L.S. 446; *Eph. Epigr.* ix, p. 605.

In l. 2, C.A. stands for *Custos Armorum*, custodian of the fort armoury. Early interpreters attempted to read GEMELLICA, a lady's name, in defiance of the bearded portrait and the stops. In l. 3, after the centurion's symbol, read *H(eres) F(aciendum) C(uravit)*, a common formula.

12. Fragment (1 ft. 9 ins. × 1 ft. 6 ins.) of a sepulchral slab.  
[D]M | [...]IS.EX. | [...]V]IX.AN | [...]STI]P IIIII |  
[...] AVR | [...]CONIV]X 'In memory of So-and-so, of Such-and-such a regiment, in the... year of his life, and the fifth of his military service. Erected by Aur... his wife.'

C.I.L. vii, 907.

*Eph. Epigr.* ix, 907, where Haverfield proposes to end the inscription E]X[TEST. 'by the terms of his will.' In that case TEST must have been cut on the moulding, as the X is the last letter that the panel can ever have held: and though this is sometimes done (e.g. C.I.L. vii, 62, at Bath, where, however, the technique is worse throughout) it is easier to supply something like F(ACIENDVM) C(VRAVIT) AVR[ELIA CONIV]X. The stops are leaf-stops, and there is one at the end of l. 2 which has been omitted in previous publications of the text.

13. Building-stone, 1 ft. 11 ins. × 1 ft., with an ansate tablet:  
LEG II AVG | FECIT 'Made by the Second Legion Augusta.'

C.I.L. vii, 898; L.S. 455.

Found at Newtown of Irthington, a mile S.W. of Castlesteads, on the line of the Wall. It commemorates the building of a section of the Wall by the Second Legion, 'The Emperor's Own,' whose permanent quarters were at Caerleon-on-Usk in Monmouthshire. All great building-works of a military nature were done by the legions, which contained skilled artificers such as masons etc. Hadrian's Wall was thus built by legionaries but garrisoned by auxiliary cohorts.

14. Fragments, together 1 ft. × 9 ins., of a building-stone, originally 1 ft. × 1 ft. 2 ins., with an ansate tablet 7 ins. × 5½ ins.

COH IIII | [DIVL]IA POS | [TVM]IANA ' (Built by) the century of Julius Postumius, of the Fourth Cohort (of the —th Legion).'

C.I.L. vii, 901 ; L.S. 460.

In the fragmentary state of the stone the above reading is only conjectural. Line 1 is certain : so are A, O, S, in l. 2, and IANA in l. 3 : and the general form of the inscription is perfectly clear. It commemorates the building of a section of the Wall by a legionary century, whose commander's name cannot be restored with certainty. For Hübner's conjecture VARSICIANA there is no evidence ; fragments of a letter are visible before IANA in l. 3 but it is not certain that the letter is C.

15. Fragment, 10 ins.  $\times$  3½ ins., bearing what may be part of three lines of lettering, very rudely done : possibly as follows

IIV | ANI | IN.

Found in 1902 during excavations on the line of the Vallum, and published in these *Trans.* n.s. iii, 348 : but Haverfield was not sufficiently confident of its being an inscription at all to include it in his *Supplements* to C.I.L.

16. Fragment (9 ins.  $\times$  9 ins.) of a large slab, with 3½ inch letters.

]IA[ | ]RE[...

C.I.L. vii, 911 ; L.S. 452.

The reading AAA | PF given by both these (Hübner following Bruce) is inaccurate ; the forms as I have given them are quite clear, though the letters have never been finished, the ground not being cleared out.

17. Semi-octagonal pilaster, 4 ft.  $\times$  11 ins., having at the top of its face two lines of two letters each, PA | IC (the last letter may be the top of an S) with a horizontal line below them.

Unpublished.

18. Rough stone, 2 ft. 3 ins.  $\times$  1 ft. 4 ins., with rudely-cut (picked) letters about 3 ins. high. Not in Hübner ; Bruce L.S. 466 gives a good illustration, but not so complete as the accompanying cut. The only other illustration is in *Archaeologia* xi, by Carlisle, who thought it could be read SVB DEO RVBEO. Hübner thought it was mediaeval and read it SVB DEO AVDEO 'under God I dare.' The letters are, however, obviously not mediaeval but resemble those of several other rude Romano-British inscriptions : the last letter is a B ; and the letter read R

by Carlisle and A by Hübner is like neither of these in any ordinary epigraphic alphabet, but exactly resembles a T and an L both upside down. If, with this clue, the stone is turned upside down, it reads BEDALTOEDBOS ; the letters B,E,D are written back-

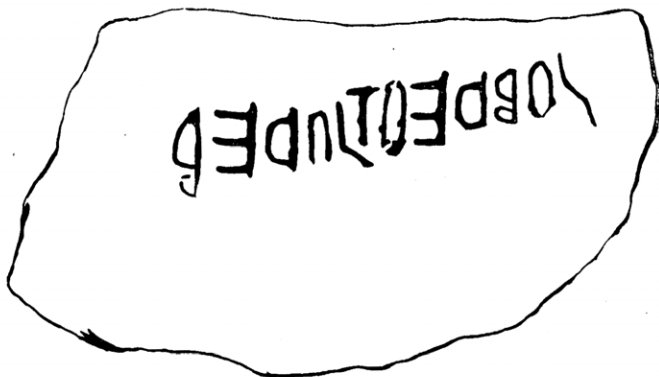


FIG. 7.—INSCRIPTION FROM CASTLESTEADS (no. 18). Scale  $\frac{1}{4}$ .

wards throughout, which is quite possible in a rude inscription. What it means I cannot say ; it does not seem to be intelligible as a British inscription (Fig. 7).

The following three stones are uninscribed or illegible :—

19. Small yellow grit altar, 16 ins.  $\times$  10 ins.
20. Small red sandstone altar, 18 ins.  $\times$  7 ins.
21. Ansate slab in yellow grit, with well-executed ornate border, 2 ft.  $\times$  1 ft.

#### B. STONES FROM OTHER SITES NOW AT CASTLESTEADS.

22. Fragment (21  $\times$  12 ins.) of a slab 24ins. square, with a circular cable-moulding 17 ins. in diameter containing the inscription

I.]O.M | [COH.I.A]EL.DAC | [CVI.PR]AEEST | [ . . . . . ]  
VSCON. | [T]RIB. 'To Jupiter best and greatest, (dedicated by) the First Aelian Cohort of Dacians, under the command of . . .us Con . . ., tribune.'

C.I.L. vii, 814 ; L.S. 362.

From Birdoswald, where Hodgson saw it in 1833 ; the width is wrongly given by Hübner. The abbreviation of the *cognomen* is unusual but certain ; there is a stop at the end of the line and the last line never contained anything but ' Trib.'

23. Altar-slab, 2 ft. 4 ins. × 1 ft. 3 ins. Found at Waterhead ; evidently from Birdoswald.

I O M | E T N A V G | C O H I A E L | D A C C P M | G A L L I C V S |  
T R I B ' To Jupiter best and greatest (dedicated by) the Aelian  
First Cohort of Dacians, under the command of Marcus Gallicus,  
tribune.'

C.I.L. vii, 821 (mis-described as a miniature altar) ; L.S. 363.

These authorities misread l. 4 as DAC CVI PR(AEEST), but the reading is clear, and from C.I.L. vii, 820 we know that the praenomen of Gallicus was Marcus. The work is poor and the stone is crumbling away badly.

24. Altar 18 ins. × 12 ins. Found 1851 at High Stead, between Old Wall and Bleatarn, 3 miles W.-S.-W. of Castlesteads and close to the site of a milecastle.

D E O | C O C I D I O | M I L I T E S | L E G . V I . V I C . P F ' To the god  
Cocidius, (dedicated by) soldiers of the Victorious, Pious and  
Faithful Sixth Legion.'

C.I.L. vii, 876 ; L.S. 433.

Cocidius, sometimes identified with Mars, was probably the tutelary god of the river Coquet, and was a very popular deity in the Roman army of these districts. The altar is dedicated, not by the Sixth Legion as a whole nor, apparently, by any unit of it, ordinary (century or cohort) or extraordinary (vexillation), but merely by a group of men from its ranks employed on the Wall possibly for building or repairing, since legionaries were never used in the mural garrisons. The good style of the altar favours the supposition that they were here to do mason's work.

25. Fragment 19 ins. × 16 ins. of a slab : from Birdoswald.

..]CM[. . | ..]IMVSDI[. . | ..]ES.A.SOLO.FE[. . | MAXI-  
MO.II].ET.AFRICANO.C[O(N)S(VLIBVS)]

C.I.L. vii, 833 b ; L.S. 387. Hübner wished to read DEO-  
SOLI INVI]C M[ITHRAE PRO SALVTE DO]MVS DI[VINAE  
' To the Invincible Sun-god Mithras for the welfare of the Divine  
House, so-and-so built (this temple) from the ground in A.D. 236,'  
but the I before M in line 2, first observed by Haverfield (*Eph.  
Epigr.* ix, p. 600) makes this impossible and suggests a proper  
name like MAX]IMVS as one of the dedicators. Previous publi-  
cations have overlooked the T in l. 4, which is, however, quite  
plain. In l. 1 the top of the M is missing, but the reading CM is  
more probable than CIVI.

## C. STONES FROM CASTLESTEADS NOW PRESERVED ELSEWHERE.

26. Altar, 4 ft. 2 ins. × 1 ft. 7 ins., found 1660, now at Tullie House, Carlisle.

[I.O.M] | ET.NVMI[NI.AVG] | N.CO.H.II.TVN | GROR.  
GOR. ∞ .EQ | [C].L..CVI.PRAE | EST.CL.CLAV | D  
[IANVS] PRA | E F.INSTANTE | AEL.MARTINO | PRINC.  
K.IA[N] | IMP.DN.G.AVG.II[ET]PO | MPEIANO COS 'To  
Jupiter best and greatest and to the deity of our Emperor,  
(dedicated by) the Second Cohort of Tungrians, Gordian's Own,  
1,000 strong, furnished with a cavalry contingent and enjoying  
the Latin citizenship, under the command of Claudius Claudianus,  
prefect; (executed) under the eye of Aelius Martinus, senior  
decurion, on the first of January, A.D. 241.'

C.I.L. vii, 882; L.S. 423; *Eph. Epigr.* ix, p. 604.

The reading is at several points doubtful. In l. 6 the name of the prefect is a conjectural, but probable, restoration from the CICIIV given by Routh: the date K.JAN is given as read by Haverfield, Anderson and Rostovtsev in 1919, but was admitted by them to be uncertain. In l. 11 the reading is generally given AVG.III PO; but Gordian was only consul twice, the second time in 241 with Pompeianus. Hübner, therefore, suggests that the third I of the numeral is the upright of an ET tied together: otherwise it must be explained as an error.

27. Altar found at the east gate of the fort: 'it seemed to be in the south jamb of the gate with the face downwards' (Horsley) *i.e.* it had been used as building-stone in a late reconstruction of the gateway. Now at Tullie House Museum, Carlisle.

M[AT]RIBVS | OMNIVM. | GENTIVM | TEMPLVM. |  
OLIM VETVS | TATE CONLAB | SVM G.IVL.CV | PITI-  
ANVS ∞ | P.P.RESTITVIT 'A temple to the Mothers of all  
nations, formerly dilapidated by age, was restored by Gaius  
Julius Cupititanus, senior centurion of the —th Legion.'

C.I.L. vii, 887; L.S. 441; *Tullie House Cat.* (ed. i) no. 30.

The Mothers were a triad of goddesses much worshipped in Celtic countries, especially Gaul; their cult came to Britain with cohorts from the lower Rhine and Moselle basins and became very popular. They are represented sitting side by side and holding apples, grapes and wheat. P.P. stands for Primi Pili, or possibly for Primipilaris, in which case the meaning is 'senior centurion (retired).'

28. Sculpture 3 ft. 2 ins. × 1 ft. 9 ins., now at Netherby: a

winged figure of Victory standing on a globe, holding a crown and palm-branch, with the legend VIC | AVG 'To the Victory of the Emperor.'

C.I.L. vii, 891 ; L.S. 444.

I have not seen the stone.

#### D. STONES FROM CASTLESTEADS NOW LOST.

29. Altar, seen by Camden 'at Castle-steedes.'

I O M | [C]OH I[I] TVNG[ROR] | [M]IL EQ CV[I PR |  
AEES[T]AVRE[LIVS] | OPTATVS P[RAE] | F INSTAN[TE] |  
MES OPSE[QVENTE] | PRINC[IPE] 'To Jupiter best and  
greatest (dedicated by) the Second Cohort of Tungrians, 1,000  
strong and furnished with a cavalry contingent, under the com-  
mand of Aurelius Optatus prefect ; (executed) under the eye of  
Messius Obsequens, senior decurion.'

C.I.L. vii, 880.

30. Altar seen by Gordon at Scaleby, and according to Horsley attributed by its then owner to Castlesteads.

I[O M] | COH IIII | GALLORVM | C P VOLCA[.] | VS  
HOSPEIS | PR[AE]F EQ ' (Dedicated) to Jupiter best and  
greatest by the Fourth Cohort of Gauls under the command of ?  
prefect of horse.' The reading of the name is unsatisfactory.

C.I.L. vii, 876.

31. Altar acquired by Gordon at Castlesteads and given by him to the Earl of Hertford, in whose collection Gale and Horsley saw it.

DEO SANG M | ARTI VENVSTIN | VS LVPVS VSLM  
'To the holy god Mars, Venustus Lupus pays a vow.'

C.I.L. vii, 884.

The above is Horsley's reading : the G was doubtless meant for C.

32. Altar formerly at Scaleby Castle : found 'at Cambeck in the ruins of an old stone wall.'

[DEO] SOLI | [I]NVICTO | SEX.SEVE | RIVS.SA | LVA-  
TOR[ | PR]AEF | [V.S.]L.M 'To the Invincible Sun-god,  
Sextius Severius Salvator, Prefect, pays a vow.'

C.I.L. vii, 889.

The Sun-god is Mithras.

33. Altar from Castlesteads fort, formerly at Scaleby Castle.

DEO SOLI MITR | ....VIS | ....COR | .... 'To the Sun-god Mithras....'

C.I.L. vii, 890.

34. Altar, formerly at Scaleby Castle, found in the Irthing near Castlesteads.

DEO.S.BE | LATVCA[D] | RO AV.DO. | [PA]VLLINVS | V S 'To the holy god Belatucader, ... Paullinus pays a vow.' Line 3 is obviously corrupt.

C.I.L. vii, 874.

35. A large slab, said to come from 'Cumberland beyond the Irthing,' may or may not belong to Castlesteads, to which site it is commonly ascribed on very slender grounds. It appears, however, to have been seen at or near Brampton, and to have read somewhat as follows—

DEAE NYMPHAE BRIG(ANTIAE) | QVOD VOVERAT PRO | SALVTE ET INCOLVMITATE | DOM(INI).NOSTR(I). INVIC(TI) | IMP.M.AVREL.SEVERI | ANTONINI.PII. FELICIS | AVG. TOTIVSQVE.DO | MVS DIVINAE EIVS | M.COCCEIVS NIGRINVS | [PR]OC.AVG.N. DEVO | [TISSIM]VS.NVM[INI] | [MAIES]TATIQVE EIVS V S L M 'To the Goddess Nymph Brigantia Marcus Cocceius Nigrinus, procurator (*i.e.* revenue officer) of our Emperor and most devoted to his deity and majesty, pays the vow which he had vowed for the welfare and safety of our lord the invincible Emperor Marcus Aurelius Severus Antoninus, Pious, Fortunate, August and of his whole divine house.'

C.I.L. vii, 875 ; *Eph. Epigr* ix, p. 604.

The emperor is Caracalla (212—217). Brigantia is a recognised goddess : we find Dea B., Dea Nympha B., Victoria B., B. Caelestis.

36. Altar, at Castlesteads in 1748 ; 12 ins. × 9 ins.

MATRI | BVS T[R | A]MA[RI | NIS...] 'To the Mothers overseas.'

The above is restored from the reading given namely TP.. | | MAP... The epithet Tramarinae is applied elsewhere to the Mothers, and doubtless indicates the fact that their cult was not native to these parts but came from the Low Countries.

*Eph. Epigr.* vii, 1081.

37. Altar, with inscription almost entirely obliterated. Carlsle in *Archaeologia* xi (1794), p. 66, plate 3, fig 7, reads

..N.. | ..DEO.... | ...VV..I<.. | ...C.V. | ....VI.



Hutchinson, *Cumberland* vol. 1, p. 118, pl. 2, fig. 20, reads  
 .... | ..DEO.... | ...Vc... | ...OV... | ....

C.I.L. vii, 892.

This may be one of the two altars now at Castlesteads on which no inscription is visible.

38. Fragment of a sepulchral slab, found at the beginning of the seventeenth century or earlier; Bainbrigg saw it broken and laid in a pavement at Walton.

SOPH....[C] | ONIVGI SA[NCTISSIM] | AE ET [CARISSI-  
 MAE F C] ' (In memory of So-and-so, erected by) Soph... to his most sacred and (beloved) wife.' The inscription would probably begin D.M. and the lady's name.

C.I.L. vii, 909.

39. Fragment, 1 ft. × 10 ins., of a sepulchral slab. Seen by Bruce at Castlesteads, but not among the stones there when I examined them, and apparently lost within the last 50 years.

...IL EC... | ...IIESSOR... | ..XXVIS<sup>a</sup>A...

C.I.L. vii, 908; L.S. 448.

In Bruce's woodcut the S in l. 3 is written above the line and obviously means 'and a half'; the letter or letters following are quite illegible.

40. Building-stone found 'in the east part of the station near the gate.'

LEG.VI.V | F 'Built by the Victorious Sixth Legion.'

C.I.L. vii, 900.

This stone is valuable, proving as it does that the fort itself, or at any rate some part of it, was built by the Sixth Legion.

41. Building-stone, found in 1791 in Hadrian's Wall in the immediate neighbourhood of the fort.

▷ ROMANI 'Century of Romanus.'

C.I.L. vii, 904.

The stone gives the name of the century which built that section of the Wall.

42. Building-stone, 1 ft. 1 in. × 1 ft., found at Irthington Bridge, half a mile or less south of the fort, and preserved in Camden's MSS.

VEXIL | LATIO | LEG II | AVG | REFECIT 'Repaired by a vexillation of the Second Legion, the Emperor's Own.'

*Eph. Epigr.* ix, 1217.

Whereas the original work of Hadrian's Wall was carried out by the legions as a whole, and was divided up among their cohorts and centuries in regular order, repairs were executed by vexillations, or extraordinary units drafted off from the legions for special duty.

43. Slab, found in a hypocaust (possibly the bath-house of the fort) about the beginning of the seventeenth century; it seems to have been whole, but the inscription illegible at the top and right-hand side.

IV..... | M..... | CVPAL..... | LEG.AVG.PP.COH.II |  
TVNG.POSVIT 'Set up by the Second Cohort of Tungrians under So-and-so, Legatus Augusti Pro Praetore (*i.e.* Imperial Governor of the Province of Britain).'

C.I.L. vii, 894.

The stone was sent to Camden by "Belted Will"; what then became of it is unknown.

44. I.BLASIOS | AI..B..INE..C | SVB.....P

*Ep. Epigr.* iv, 687.

45. Fragment, ornamented, found in the same hypocaust as C.I.L. vii, 894 (no. 43 above).

IF..... | TILIO....

C.I.L. vii, 910.

46. Fragment.

..ANO.. | ...OSIISVB...

C.I.L. vii, 895.

47. Fragment.

..DIO... | ...II...

C.I.L. vii, 895.

### III. COINS.

The coins found and preserved at Castlesteads number 99; of these I have been able, thanks to Mrs. Johnson's sending the whole collection to Oxford for thorough examination, to make the following catalogue. Excluding six which proved illegible, they are distributed among 33 emperors and empresses, as shown in the table which immediately precedes the catalogue; from the manner of this distribution the following conclusions seem to emerge.

The coins of Vespasian are all very much worn and have clearly been in circulation a long time before being lost. The same is true, but decreasingly so, of Domitian, Nerva and Trajan. With Hadrian we suddenly reach coins which have been dropped in a fresh state. This clearly indicates a foundation in the time of Hadrian, quite apart from any other evidence. It is to be noticed that 25 coins—a quarter of the total—were probably dropped during Hadrian's reign or at least before 150, but of these the great majority were struck before Hadrian's accession.

The next question is whether the fort was occupied 140-180, during the lifetime of the Antonine Wall. Nineteen coins fall in this period, and the freshness of many of them seems to put it beyond a doubt that the fort was then occupied: if not between 140 and 158, certainly from 158 to 180. It is possible, to judge by the worn condition of the coins of Pius, that the garrison was withdrawn by Lollius Urbicus for his Scottish conquests and only restored by Julius Verus (whom we know to have been active hereabouts) after the Brigantian rising of 158.

Very few coins mark the long reign of Commodus, and it seems quite possible that after the disaster of 180 (181? The coin 45 is of that date and in mint condition) the fort was for a time abandoned, to be put in commission again late in Severus' reign. This would fit the fact that the coins of Severus and Julia Domna are slightly worn, while those of Caracalla and Geta are almost in mint condition. From 210 or thereabouts to perhaps 235 the coins prove continuous occupation. After that there is a gap till 250 or 260, but this is opportunely filled by inscriptions proving that the Second Cohort of Tungrians was here about 240.

After 270 there seems to be another gap. The coins suggest that the fort may have been unoccupied from that date till 290 or thereabouts. This is indeed very likely: we know that there was a disaster on the Wall about 270,

and that Carausius about 290 undertook a Caledonian war and presumably restored the frontier-defences. Throughout the first half of the fourth century the fort was obviously inhabited: and the occupation runs steadily on to Valens. In 367 came the great Pictish invasion: and after this it is certain from the coins that Castlesteads was reoccupied. This reoccupation has left us a coin of Gratian and perhaps a few of Valens.

The next crisis in the history of the Wall was the withdrawal of troops by Maximus (383). Was Castlesteads reoccupied again after this?

The coins do not answer the question with certainty. One coin, unfortunately not wholly decipherable, seems pretty certainly to belong either to Valentinian II. or to Theodosius I. In the former case it can only have reached the Wall after Maximus left it, and proves an occupation after 383: in the latter, it may have been dropped before Maximus left Britain.

<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Æ</i>		<i>Total</i>	<i>Condition</i>
	<i>1</i>	<i>2 3 Small</i>		
Vespasian (69-79)	5	1	6	all much worn
Domitian (81-96)	2	1 2	5	all worn
Nerva (96-98)	1		1	rather worn
Trajan (97-117)	6	3	9	all rather worn
Hadrian (117-138)	1	2 1	4	mostly fresh
Pius (138-161)	2	4 2	8	mostly worn
Faustina I.	2	1 1	4	2 fresh, 2 worn
M. Aurelius (161-180)	2	2	4	2 fresh, 2 worn
Faustina II.	2		2	fairly fresh
Verus (161-169)	1		1	very fresh
Commodus (176-192)	2		2	1 very fresh, 1 worn
Severus (193-211)	3		3	slightly worn
Julia Domna	3		3	slightly worn
Caracalla (212-217)	1	1	2	fresh
Geta (209-212)	2		2	fresh
Aquilia Severa (218-222)	1		1	fresh
Julia Mamaea (—235)	1		1	fairly fresh

<i>Emperor</i>	<i>Æ</i>		<i>Total</i>		<i>Condition</i>
	<i>Æ</i>	<i>Small</i>	<i>Small</i>	<i>Small</i>	
Valerian (253-259)			1	1	fairly fresh
Victorinus (265-267)			1	1	rather worn
Gallienus (253-268)			1	1	fairly fresh
Maximian (285-305)	1	1		2	fairly fresh
Carausius (287-293)			2	2	1 fresh, 1 worn
Galerius (305-311)	1			1	fairly fresh
Licinius (307-323)		1		1	fresh
Constantine I. (305-337)		3	4	6 13	mostly fresh
Crispus (317-326)				1 1	worn
Constantine II. (317-340)				1 1	fresh
Constantius II. (323-361)			1	1 2	rather worn
Magnentius (350-353)	1	1		2	not much worn
Valentinian I. (364-375)				1? 1?	rather worn
Valens (364-375)				4 4	mostly fresh
Gratian (367-383)	1			1	fresh
Valentinian II. (383-392)				1? 1?	fresh
Illegible	3	1	2	6	
<hr/>					
41 13 15 12 18 99					

## VESPASIAN (69-79).

1. *Æ*: worn: 47 gr.  
 obv.—IMP CAES VESPASIANVS AVG. Head laureate r.  
 rev.—IVDAEA. Judaea mourning seated r. on ground at the foot of a trophy.  
 Cohen 226. A.D.90, commemorating the conquest of Judaea.
2. *Æ*: worn: 42 gr.  
 obv.—IMP CAESAR VESPASI(ANVS AVG) withershins. Head laureate r.  
 rev.—PON (MAX TR P) COS VI. Seated figure l.  
 Cohen 366. A.D.75.
3. *Æ*: worn and corroded: 28 gr.  
 obv.—(IMP) V(E)S(PASIA)NV(S) A(VG). Head laureate r.  
 rev.—Figure sacrificing at altar.  
 Found 1873.

4.  $\mathcal{R}$  : worn : 47 gr.  
obv.—IMP CAES VESP AVG P P. Head laureate r.  
rev.—TR P(OT)... Vesta? seated, l.  
Cohen 561?
5.  $\mathcal{R}$  : worn : 39 gr.  
obv.—Head laureate r.  
rev.—Illegible.
6.  $\mathcal{A} \mathcal{E} 2$  : much worn and corroded : 119 gr.  
obv.—Head r. (attribution to Vespasian reasonably certain).  
rev.—Standing figure.

## DOMITIAN (81-96).

7.  $\mathcal{R}$  : worn : 37 gr.  
obv.—CAESAR AVG F DOMITIANVS. Head laureate r.  
rev.—Domitian on horseback : legend undecipherable.  
Before D's accession in 81.
8.  $\mathcal{R}$  : worn : 41 gr.  
obv.—IMP CAES DOMITI(ANVS) IMP... Head r.  
rev.—Illegible.
9.  $\mathcal{A} \mathcal{E} 1$  : much worn and corroded : 292 gr.  
obv.—...GERM COS XI... Head r.  
rev.—Illegible.  
Probably A.D.85, and certainly between 84 and 90.
10.  $\mathcal{A} \mathcal{E} 2$  : much worn : 108 gr.  
obv.—(IMP CAES DOMIT) AVG GERM COS XII CE(NS PERP). Head laureate r.  
rev.—Standing figure l. : (s) c in field.  
A.D.86.
11.  $\mathcal{A} \mathcal{E} 2$  : much worn and corroded : 72 gr.  
obv.—Head of D? r. (attribution probable).  
rev.—Illegible.

## NERVA (96-98).

12.  $\mathcal{R}$  : somewhat worn : 38 gr.  
obv.—Head laureate r. (recognisable as N.).  
rev.—CONCORDIA (EXERCITVVM). Clasped hands.  
Cohen 16, 20 or 22 : A.D. 96 or 97.

## TRAJAN (97-117).

13.  $\mathcal{R}$  : slightly worn : 39 gr.  
obv.—IMP TRAIANO AVG GER DAC P M TR P. Head laureate r.  
rev.—COS V P P SPQR OPTIMO PRINC. Trophy.  
Cohen 98. A.D.104-110.

14.  $\mathcal{R}$ : rather worn: broken: 38 gr.  
 obv.—IMP TRAIANO AVG GER D(AC)... Head laureate r.  
 rev.—COS V P P SPQR (OPTIMO P)RINC. Justice standing l. with scales.  
 Cohen 85. A.D.104-110.
15.  $\mathcal{R}$ : somewhat worn, corroded and broken: 26 gr.  
 obv.—(IM)P TRAIANO AVG GER DAC... Head laureate r.  
 rev.—Vesta? seated l.  
 A.D.102-117.
16.  $\mathcal{R}$ : somewhat worn and corroded: 35 gr.  
 obv.—...DAC P M TR P. Head laureate r.  
 rev.—(COS..) P P SPQR OPTIMO PRINC. Standing figure l.
17.  $\mathcal{R}$ : much worn: 34 gr.  
 obv.—...TRAIANO... Head laureate r.
18.  $\mathcal{R}$ : somewhat worn and corroded: 31 gr.  
 obv.—Head laureate r. (recognisable as T).  
 rev.—Standing figure.
19.  $\mathcal{A}$ : much worn: 355 gr.  
 obv.—Head r.  
 rev.—Seated Dacian, l.: trophy.  
 This is one of a well-known series commemorating the conquest of Dacia. Cohen 531, 535 or 536. After A.D.102.
20.  $\mathcal{A}$  1: much worn and corroded: 268 gr.  
 obv.—Head laureate r. (recognisable as T).  
 rev.—Draped female figure l. with sceptre. (s) c in field.
21.  $\mathcal{A}$  1: much worn and corroded: 245 gr.  
 obv.—Head r. (attribution to T probable).

## HADRIAN (117-138).

22.  $\mathcal{R}$ : fresh, but corroded: 35 gr.  
 obv.—(HA)DRIANVS AVG COS III P P. Head laureate r.  
 rev.—AEGYPTOS. Egypt, recumbent l. with sistrum and sacred ibis.  
 Cohen 100. Struck to commemorate H's visit to Egypt.
23.  $\mathcal{A}$  1: much corroded, but fresh: 278 gr.  
 obv.—HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Head r.  
 rev.—...COS?... Standing figure l. s c in field.
24.  $\mathcal{A}$  1: much corroded, but fresh: 299 gr.  
 obv.—Head r. (attribution certain).
25.  $\mathcal{A}$  2: much worn and corroded: 137 gr.  
 obv.—Head r.: probably H, but possibly Antoninus Pius.

## ANTONINUS PIUS (138-161).

26.  $\mathcal{R}$ : fairly fresh: 39 gr.  
 obv.—ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P. Head laureate r.  
 rev.—COS IIII. Standing female figure l. with sceptre.  
 After A.D.145.
27.  $\mathcal{R}$ : fresh, but heavily coated with verdigris: 36 gr.  
 obv.—(A)NTO(NINVS AVG P)IVS (P P) Head r.  
 rev.—... (TR POT ...) III COS ...
28.  $\mathcal{A}E$  1: somewhat worn: 422 gr.  
 obv.—...AVG ... Head laureate r.  
 v.—Standing figure l. with cornucopia. (s) c in field.
29.  $\mathcal{A}E$  1: somewhat worn and much corroded: 347 gr.  
 obv.—Head, probably Pius.  
 rev.—(TR) POT ... Ceres (?) with cornucopia. s c in field.
30.  $\mathcal{A}E$  1: somewhat worn: 327 gr.  
 obv.—(ANTONINVS AVG) PIVS ... Head laureate r.  
 rev.—TR POT XX (COS IIII) Security or Concord seated l. with cornucopia and sceptre.  
 A.D.157. Cohen 1008.
31.  $\mathcal{A}E$  1: worn and broken at edges: 222 gr.  
 obv.—...NVS AVG ... Head laureate r.  
 rev.—(TR POT) XX (COS IIII) Figure l. with sceptre.  
 A.D.157. Cohen 1010?
32.  $\mathcal{A}E$  2: much worn: 243 gr.  
 obv.—Head r.  
 rev.—Standing female figure with sceptre: s c in field.
33.  $\mathcal{A}E$  2: fairly fresh, but badly corroded: 226 gr.  
 obv.—(ANTONINVS) AVG P (IVS) ... Head laureate r.  
 rev.—TR P ... COS IIII. s c in field. Standing figure.  
 After A.D.145.

## FAUSTINA I. (wife of Antoninus Pius) d. 141.

34.  $\mathcal{R}$ : good fresh condition: 45 gr.  
 obv.—DIVA FAVSTINA. Head with usual coiffure, r.  
 rev.—AVGVSTA. Vesta, veiled, facing, head l., with sceptre.  
 Cohen 109.  
 Found April 1893, 4 feet below surface, in digging the foundations for addition to the gardener's house.
35.  $\mathcal{R}$ : fresh, corroded: 36 gr.  
 obv.—DIVA FAVSTINA. Head with usual coiffure, r.  
 rev.—AVGVSTA Vesta, r., seated on chair.  
 Cohen 120.



36. Æ 1 : somewhat worn : 332 gr.  
 obv.—DIVA FAVSTINA. Head with usual coiffure, r.  
 rev.—(AVG)VS(TA). Ceres, l. with two torches. s c in field.  
 Cohen 91.
37. Æ 2 : very much worn : 115 gr.  
 obv.—Head r., possibly of Faustina.

## M. AURELIUS (161-180).

38. Æ : fresh condition, but covered with verdigris : 26 gr.  
 obv.—Head laureate r.  
 rev.—VICT AVG (COS III). Winged Victory striding l., holding crown.  
 Cohen 979. A.D.170.
39. Æ : fine fresh condition : 43 gr.  
 obv.—AVRELIVS CAES AN ... Head, bare, r.  
 rev.—TR POT XII COS II. Peace standing l., leaning on column, holding sceptre and caduceus.  
 Cohen 727. A.D.158.
40. Æ 1 : worn : 234 gr.  
 obv.—...NINVS AVG... Head of Marcus, laureate, r.  
 rev.—Standing female figure l., with sceptre, sacrificing. s c in field.
41. Æ 1 : somewhat worn : 302 gr.  
 obv.—(M AVRELIVS) ANTONINVS AVG. Head laureate r.  
 rev.—Seated Jupiter l. s c in field.

## FAUSTINA II. (wife of M. Aurelius : d. 175).

42. Æ : fairly fresh : 39 gr.  
 obv.—FAVSTINA(E A)VG P(II)AVG FIL. Head, bare, r.  
 rev.—PVDICITIA. Modesty, standing l. and veiled, sacrificing.  
 Cohen 181.
43. Æ : somewhat worn : 34 gr.  
 obv.—(FAVSTINA) AVGVSTA. Head r.  
 rev.—AVGVSTI PII FIL. Hope, standing l., holding a flower and raising her dress.  
 Cohen 24.

## VERUS (161-169).

44. Æ : fine condition, very little worn : 48 gr.  
 obv.—L VERVS AVG ARM PARTH MAX. Head laureate r.  
 rev.—TR P VI IMP IIII COS II. Peace standing l. with olive branch and cornucopia : PAX in exergue.  
 A.D.166. Not in Cohen : a fine specimen of a rare coin.

## COMMODUS (176-192).

45.  $\mathcal{R}$ : mint condition : 39 gr.  
 obv.—M ANTONINVS COMMODVS AVG. Head laureate r.  
 rev.—TR P VII IMP III COS III P P. Female figure standing l.  
 with cornucopia, sacrificing.  
 A.D.181. Cohen 839. Found in the garden, 1887.
46.  $\mathcal{R}$ : worn and broken : 28 gr.  
 obv.—(M C)OMM A(NT) P FEL AVG BRIT. Head laureate r.  
 rev.—P M TR P XI IMP (VII) COS V P(P). Jupiter seated l. with  
 sceptre and thunderbolt.  
 A.D.186. Cohen 486. Found in the garden, 1887.

## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS (193-211).

47.  $\mathcal{R}$ : somewhat worn : 49 gr.  
 obv.—Head laureate r. (recognisable as S).  
 rev.—ADVENTVI AVG FELICI(SSIMO). S. r. on horseback with  
 r. hand raised.  
 Cohen 6. A.D.196.
48.  $\mathcal{R}$ : very little worn : 47 gr.  
 obv.—L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP VII. Head laureate r.  
 rev.—TR P III COS II P P. Minerva, armed, standing l.  
 A.D.196. Like Cohen 665, but the numerals different and the  
 title *pater patriae* added.
49.  $\mathcal{R}$ : good fresh condition, but covered with verdigris : 36 gr.  
 obv.—Wholly obscured by verdigris.  
 rev.—(RESTITVTOR) VRBIS. Severus in armour standing l.  
 with sceptre, sacrificing.  
 A.D.198-201. Cohen 599, 600 or 602.

## JULIA DOMNA (wife of Severus, d. 217).

50.  $\mathcal{R}$ : fairly fresh : 28 gr.  
 obv.—(IVLIA DOMN)A AVG. Head, bare, r.  
 rev.—VENE(RI VICTR). Venus, back view, with palm and apple.  
 Cohen 194.
51.  $\mathcal{R}$ : 3 pieces (about 4/5) of a broken denarius : 36 gr.  
 obv.—IVLIA AVGVSTA. Head, bare, r.  
 rev.—VENV(S) FELIX. Venus standing l. with apple and sceptre.  
 Cohen 197.
51.  $\mathcal{R}$ : not much worn : 38 gr.  
 obv.—IVLIA AVGVSTA. Head, bare, r.  
 rev.—HILARITAS. Figure of Cheerfulness, l., with cornucopia  
 and palm, between two children.  
 Cohen 79.

## CARACALLA (212-217).

53.  $\mathcal{R}$ : mint condition, but broken: 15 gr.  
 obv.—ANTON(INVS AVGVSTVS). Beardless head laureate r.  
 rev.—PONT (TR P II). Security, seated r. in front of a blazing  
 altar, r. hand raised to head, sceptre in l.

A.D.199. Cohen 498.

54.  $\mathcal{A}^2$ : not much worn: 130 gr.  
 obv.—(AN)TONINVS... Head radiate r.  
 rev.—Standing figure.

## GETA (209-212).

55.  $\mathcal{R}$ : fresh condition: 29 gr.  
 obv.—P SEPT GETA PONT. Head, bare, r.  
 rev.—FELICITAS PVBLICA. Felicity standing l. with cornucopia  
 and caduceus.

Cohen 38.

56.  $\mathcal{R}$ : fresh condition, but broken: 32 gr.  
 obv.—P(SEPT GETA) CAES PONT. Head, bare, r.  
 rev.—PIE(TA)S. Piety, veiled, standing l.: before her a lighted  
 altar.

Cohen 97. Oriental manufacture.

## AQUILIA SEVERA (second wife of Elagabalus, 218-222).

57.  $\mathcal{R}$ : fresh broken: 18 gr.  
 obv.—IVLIA AQVILIA (SEVERA AV)G. Head, bare, r.  
 rev.—(CONCO)RDIA. Concord, standing l. with double cornu-  
 copia, sacrificing.

Cohen 2.

## JULIA MAMAEA (mother of Severus Alexander: d. 235).

58.  $\mathcal{R}$ : not much worn: 41 gr.  
 obv.—IVLIA MAMAEA AVG. Head, bare, r.  
 rev.—VENERI FELICI. Venus standing l. with sceptre.

Cohen 60, where, however, Venus stands r.

## VALERIAN (253-259).

59.  $\mathcal{A}$ : slightly worn: 26 gr.  
 obv.—(IMP C P LI)C VALERIANVS P F AVG. Head radiate r.  
 rev.—VIRTV(S AVG)G. Mars r. with spear and trophy.

Cohen 267.

## VICTORINUS (265-267).

60.  $\mathcal{A}$ : somewhat worn and corroded: 34 gr.  
 obv.—...VICTORINVS P F AVG. Head radiate r.  
 rev.—Figure standing l. with cornucopia.

## GALLIENUS (253-268).

61. Æ 3 : not much worn : 38 gr.  
 obv.—GAL(LIENVS AVG). Head radiate r.  
 rev.—(SECV)RIT PERPET. H in field. Crowned figure l. leaning  
 on column and holding sceptre.  
 Cohen 96r.

## MAXIMIAN (285-305).

62. Æ 2 : fairly new, corroded : 103 gr.  
 obv.—IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG. Head laureate r.  
 rev.—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Genius l. with patera and cornu-  
 copia.  
 Cohen 197 ?
63. Æ 3 : slightly worn, broken : 40 gr.  
 obv.—IMP MAXIMIA(NVS...). Head laureate r.  
 rev.—GENI(O POP ROM). Genius l. with patera and cornucopia.

## CARAUSIUS (287-293 in Britain).

64. Æ 3 : rather worn : 48 gr.  
 obv.—IMP C CARAVSIVS P F AVG. Head radiate r.  
 rev.—PROVID AVGGG. Figure l. with ball and cornucopia. sp  
 in field, c in exergue.  
 After A.D.289. Cohen 268.
65. Æ 3 : good fresh coin : 62 gr.  
 obv.—IMP CARAVSIVS P F AVG. Head radiate r.  
 rev.—VIRTVS A(VG). Soldier r: with shield and spear. sp in field.  
 Cohen 391. Before A.D.289.

## GALERIUS (305-311).

66. Æ 2 : fairly fresh : 116 gr.  
 obv.—MAXIMIANVS NOB C. Head laureate r.  
 rev.—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Genius, l. PKL in exergue.  
 Cohen 54.

## LICINIUS (307-323).

67. Æ 3 : fresh : 47 gr.  
 obv.—IMP C VAL LICIN LICINIVS P F AVG. Head radiate r.  
 rev.—IOVI CONSERVATORI. Jupiter, l., holding Victory or a  
 globe and sceptre: on ground, to l. eagle holding a crown, to  
 r. a squatting captive. XIII in field. Struck at Alexandria.  
 SMHA in exergue.  
 Cohen 74.

## CONSTANTINE I. (305-337).

68. Æ 3 : fresh : 59 gr.  
 obv.—CONSTANTINVS P F AVG. Head laureate r.  
 rev.—COMITI AVGG NN. Sun-god radiate l. with orb and whip;  
 star in field. DLN in exergue.  
 Cohen 39.
69. Æ 2 : fairly fresh, but pierced for use as a button : 114 gr.  
 obv.—FL VA CONSTANT...S... Head r.  
 rev.—GENIO POPVLI ROMANI. Genius l. with patera and cornu-  
 copia. Might be of Constantius Chlorus (the obverse  
 legend is not clear), but does not exactly suit anything in  
 Cohen under either emperor.
70. Æ 2 : fairly fresh : 77 gr.  
 obv.—FL VAL CONSTANTINVS NOB C. Head r.  
 rev.—GE(NIO) POPVLI ROMANI. Genius l. with patera and cornu-  
 copia. SH in field, PTR in exergue.  
 Cohen 218. A.D. 307.
71. Æ small : slightly worn : 20 gr.  
 obv.—(CONST)ANTI(NVS AVG). Head laureate r.  
 rev.—GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers with arms, between  
 them a standard.  
 Found in April, 1893, in digging a drain in the orchard.  
 Cohen 244.
72. Æ 2 : fairly fresh : 62 gr.  
 obv.—IMP CONSTANTINVS AVG. Head laureate r.  
 rev.—SOLI INVICTO COM(ITI). Sun-god radiate l. with orb.  
 TF in field, PTC in exergue.  
 Cohen 531, but without the captive.
73. Æ 3 : fairly fresh : 40 gr.  
 obv.—IMP CONSTANTINVS AVG. Head laureate r.  
 rev.—SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Sun-god radiate l. with orb. SF in  
 field.  
 Cohen 530, but without the captive.
74. Æ 3 : fairly fresh : 42 gr.  
 obv.—CONSTANTINVS P AVG. Head laureate r.  
 rev.—SOLI INVICTO C(OMITI). Sun-god l. radiate with orb. TF  
 in field.  
 Cohen 524.
75. Æ 3 : fairly fresh : 47 gr.  
 obv.—(IM)P CONSTANTINVS AVG. Head l. in helmet adorned  
 with crest and stars.  
 rev.—VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP. Two Victories placing a  
 shield on an altar.  
 Cohen 637.

76. Æ small: slightly worn: 43 gr.  
 obv.—(IMP CONS)TANTINVS (MAX AVG). Head r. in helmet.  
 rev.—VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP. Two Victories placing  
 shield (legend VOT P R?) on altar.  
 Cohen vol. vii, pp. 303-4.
77. Æ small: slightly worn: 33 gr.  
 obv.—...CONSTANTINVS... Head r. in helmet.  
 rev.—(VI)CTORIAE (LAETAE PRINC PERP). Two Victories placing  
 shield (VOT P R) on altar. STP in exergue.  
 Cohen 628?
78. Æ small: fresh: 41 gr.  
 obv.—Head r. in laurel-wreathed helmet.  
 rev.—Two Victories holding shield on altar.  
 This belongs to the VICTORIAE LAETAE series, but the legends  
 are undecipherable. It is certainly Constantine's.
79. Æ small: fairly fresh: 23 gr.  
 obv.—...(A)VG Head, diadem, r.  
 rev.—VI(CTORIAE...) Two Victories, face to face, holding up  
 crowns (?). SNR in exergue.  
 This resembles 74-76 in general type, but I cannot positively  
 identify it either as Constantine's or as anyone else's, though  
 the head is most probably his.
80. Æ small: fairly fresh: 25 gr.  
 obv.—VRBS ROMA. Head of Rome l. in helmet.  
 rev.—Wolf l. suckling twins. TRP\* in exergue.  
 Cohen 18.

## CRISPUS (317-326).

81. Æ: worn and broken: 36 gr.  
 obv.—FL IVL CR(ISPVS NOB CAES). Head laureate r.  
 rev.—VICTORIAE LAETAE PRINC PERP. Two Victories placing  
 shield (VOT P R) on altar.  
 Cohen 151.

## CONSTANTINE II. (317-340).

82. Æ small: fresh: 33 gr.  
 obv.—CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB. Head laureate r.  
 rev.—GLORIA EXERCITVS. Two soldiers with arms: between  
 them two standards. PLG in exergue.  
 Cohen 122.

## CONSTANTIUS II. (323-361).

83. Æ 3: slightly worn: 82 gr.

obv.—D N CONSTANTIVS P F AVG. Head r. A in field.

rev.—FEL TEMP REPARATIO. Soldier l. spearing enemy fallen from horseback. ?PTR in exergue.

Cohen 45 (who observes in connexion with the reverse type "quoique la *réparation des temps* ait pu être *heureuse*, il ne paraît pas qu'elle soit étendue jusqu'à l'adoucissement des mœurs").

After A.D.337.

84. Æ small: worn: 65 gr.

obv.—Head in diadem r. V in field.

rev.—As no. 82. Cohen 45 or variety. After A.D.337.

#### MAGNENTIUS (350-353 in Gaul).

85. Æ 2: corroded: 132 gr.

obv.—D N MAGNEN(TIVS P F) AVG. Head r.

rev.—SALVS DD NN AVG ET CAES. Monogram of Christ:

A Ω in field: AMB in exergue

Cohen 29.

86. Æ 3: rather worn: 80 gr.

obv.—D N MAGNENTIUS P F AVG. Head, bare, r.

rev.—SALVS DD NN AVG ET CAES. Monogram of Christ:

A Ω in field. ?AMB in exergue.

Cohen 32.

#### VALENTINIAN I. (364-375).

87. Æ small: worn and corroded: 37 gr.

obv.—Head, diadem, r. Resembles Valentinian, Valens or Gratian: but the legend seems to have been too long to suit the others.

rev.—Figure, facing, sacrificing? I cannot identify this type.

#### VALENS (364-378).

88. Æ small: fresh: 31 gr.

obv.—D N VALENS P F AVG. Head with diadem r.

rev.—SECVRTAS REIPVBLICAE. Victory striding l. with crown and palm. OF II in field: COM in exergue.

Cohen 47.

89. Æ small: worn: 34 gr.

Same coin, DBSISC in exergue.

90. Æ small: obv.—much worn: rev.—fresh: 38 gr.

Same coin, LVGP in exergue.

91. Æ small: fairly fresh, but chipped: 33 gr.

Same coin, F I in field.

## GRATIAN (367-383).

92. AR : fairly fresh, but reduced to oxide.  
obv.—GRATIANVS... Head r.  
rev.—Adhering to a small brass (93, illegible) and this again to a small silver (94, illegible). The three, 84 grains.

## VALENTINIAN II. (383-392).

95. Æ small : fresh, but much flaked : 22 gr.  
obv.—Head r. The head might also be Theodosius (379-395) in which case the coin might date before the evacuation of the Wall by Magnus Maximus in 383. Legend altogether lost.  
rev.—Legend and most of type lost. Perhaps a seated figure r. holding out hand to a kneeling figure l. : but the outstretched hand in sleeve is the only thing that is quite clear, and I have not been able to identify the type.

## ILLEGIBLE.

96. AR covered with verdigris : 46 gr.  
97. AR ditto : 39 gr.  
98. Æ 2 : much corroded : 220 gr. : 2nd century. ?Found 1904 in building bothy.  
99. Æ 3 : much worn : 70 gr. : might be Domitian, Nerva or Trajan. Also 93, 94, adhering to 92 above.
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